

***#ryanneedsgrinder*: Pragmatics of Use and Combination of Discourse
Types in Posts from Instagram and Twitter**

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<p>Abstrakt:</p> <p>The work is dedicated to the use of the hashtag <i>#ryanneedsgrinder</i> in posts from two social media platforms Instagram and Twitter. Material consists of 76 posts from Instagram and 46 posts from Twitter. All the analysed posts contain the investigated hashtag.</p> <p>The aim of the research is to analyse the pragmatics of the particular hashtag among the analysed posts and to find out what role the hashtag has in the posts and in the context of the campaign. Additionally, the work aims to discover, what is disclosed in the use of the hashtag, how users include and mix elements of different discourse types (consumer and ‘prosumer’) and what language features can show such a shift.</p> <p>The notion of a hashtag and its use are described in detail. In addition to this, various tools available in two social media platforms are discussed as well. The posts were analysed from various perspectives: position in the text, the use of reposts, retweets and additional links and the types of combined discourse.</p> <p>The research shows that the language used in social media can combine various genres, styles and characteristics. Due to various functions of social media, the posts contain not only everyday language traits, but also some professional elements that can be found, for example, in advertising. One of the reasons for including professional elements is the connection of the hashtag and the marketing campaign.</p>	
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Contents:

1.	Introduction	5
1.1.	Aims	7
1.2.	Structure	7
2.	Hashtags: definition, use and functions	8
2.1.	Hashtags in social media	8
2.2.	Discourse and genres and Internet posts in social media	11
2.3.	Social media and marketing	18
2.4.	Electronic word-of-mouth	19
3.	Hashtags and memes in social media	21
3.1.	The social media platform Instagram	21
3.2.	The social media platform Twitter	23
3.3.	Memes in social media	24
4.	Methods and material	25
4.1.	Material	25
4.2.	Methods	26
5.	The hashtag in Instagram and Twitter: position in the text	28
5.1.	The hashtag incorporated into the text of the posts	28
5.1.1.	Instagram	28
5.1.2.	Twitter	31
5.2.	The hashtag as a frame for social media posts	32
5.2.1.	Instagram	32
5.2.2.	Twitter	34
6.	Reposts, retweets and additional links: functions of the hashtag	36
6.1.	The repost function in Instagram and its influence on the posts	36
6.2.	Retweets and links as tools for widening the context of the posts in Twitter	

7. Types of discourse in social media posts with the hashtag <i>#ryanneedsgrinder</i>	47
8. Conclusion	54
References	57

1. Introduction

The field of computer-mediated communication has drawn a great deal of attention during last years. As a result of such interest, various types of research have been conducted in this field. The reason for that is understandable: with the development of the Internet, communication has changed and has been at least partly transferred to the global network. It has made communication easier, quicker (one can reply to a message in almost no time) and more accessible (especially for people who live in different parts of the world or in different time zones).

What is more, nowadays the spread of various kinds of social media platforms allows sharing videos, pictures, photos and other kinds of visual material. Practically everyone is able to see such content, share it or/and participate in communication dedicated to it. As a result of the development of multimodal online communication, social media platforms are used for various purposes (not only to communicate and share content). These online platforms have partly become a place advertisements, marketing or social campaigns. This is the field where *social tagging* can be and is widely used. Social tagging refers to “the practice of creating and adding user-generated keywords to annotate uploaded contents for a number of purposes in social media” (Lee 2018: 1).

In comparison with other fields of linguistic research, the field of Internet communication and especially communication in social media is a relatively new phenomenon (see e.g. Herring, Stein & Virtanen 2013; Hoffmann, Hoffmann 2017). To the best of my knowledge, the sphere of hashtags has not been investigated completely. In particular, the role of the hashtags, their meaning for texts and reposts deserves further investigation.

Hashtags appear “on social media” and are usually “preceded by a hash sign” (*the Oxford English Dictionary*, henceforth the OED). The full definition of the hashtag will be given below. Hashtags are used in the various ways in social media. Not only are they used to structure the space in social media, but also to popularize and to highlight events and campaigns. What is more, the functions of hashtags can be much wider than the simple structuring of the material according to topics. For example, hashtags can create a certain type of a community (Bruns & Burgess 2011; Maireder & Schwarzenegger 2012; Lee 2018). Another important function is the ability to draw attention and make photos

easily found by other users (Ames & Naaman 2007). All these functions are important and relevant to the investigation of the particular hashtag that is the focus of this study.

Hashtags can be used to attract attention to different movements in society (Lee & Chau 2018). Hashtags can convey emotions, indicate campaigns and events. Sometimes they are used to attract more people to the particular publication to get a reaction on the event. An important point is that such kind of social tagging is easy to access, as one can press the hashtag and receive the results where it is used.

Apart from all these functions, there is another interesting example of the use of hashtags. A hashtag may become popular and widespread and turn into a *meme* that is “an image, video, piece of text, etc., typically humorous in nature, that is copied and spread rapidly by Internet users, often with slight variations” (the OED).

The field of this study is social media communication. The way in which people use language in the Internet with the help of additional tools (such as hashtags, for example) is a relevant area of research because it can be examined in detail from many different perspectives. For example, the way people communicate and participate in an online communication depends on the audience design (Dynel 2017) that is chosen by the initiator of the communication.

This work is dedicated to the analysis of the use of the hashtag *#ryanneedsgrinder* and the context it used in. The interest towards this particular hashtag appeared when a café in Toronto, Canada organized a campaign using this hashtag. The campaign took place during Toronto International Film Festival (TIFF) in 2018. The café *Grinder Coffee Gerrard* decided to use the hashtag *#ryanneedsgrinder* to attract attention of a famous movie actor Ryan Gosling and to invite him to the café. The hashtag was used on social media platforms among the texts of their posts. The hashtag was shared not only by the account of the café, but also by ordinary users as well.

Nowadays social media has become a part of our private lives, as well as a tool for developing marketing campaigns and business projects. This particular hashtag is an example that demonstrates this. I believe that the use of this particular hashtag is a good example of computer-mediated discourse, which combines professional discourse (marketing campaign of the café *Grinder Coffee Gerrard*) and recreational discourse (the visual part of the campaign, reposts, publicly available conversations and jokes).

1.1.Aims

The aim of this work is to investigate the use of the hashtag *#ryanneedsgrinder* in Instagram and Twitter, its connection to the texts of the posts, reposts, retweets and additional links. Apart from that, the combination of various kinds of discourse (*computer-mediated*, *professional* and *recreational* discourses) will be examined. A hybrid of these discourses is a *prosumer* discourse. The OED defines *prosumer* as

a consumer who adopts an active role in the design of the products he or she purchases, or who purchases component elements of products in order to build or administer his or her own goods and services (the OED).

The prosumer discourse means that an ordinary user advertises a product without any benefits from the company and at the same time this user is a potential consumer of the product.

This work aims to answer several research questions:

1. What is the pragmatics of the use of this hashtag in Internet posts in social media? What role does the hashtag have in the texts of the posts on two social media platforms?
2. What is disclosed in the use of the hashtag *#ryanneedsgrinder* in the posts of users?
3. What is the embodiment of the combination of several types of discourse? Is there a clear border between two types of discourse? What lexical, stylistic and other ways are used to illustrate the shift?

1.2.Structure

The structure of this thesis includes: the introduction, where the field of research, aims and research questions are described, the theoretical part, where I give the theoretical background of previous studies and literature, which are relevant for this research. I also provide the necessary definitions of the terms used in this study. The practical part is divided into three smaller sections. I divide the material into two groups according to the social media it was found in. In the conclusion, I restate the aim of the research, give answers to my research questions that were obtained from the analysis and the limitations of this study. What is more, I share my thoughts about the possible continuation of this research.

2. Hashtags: definition, use and functions

2.1. Hashtags in social media

To limit all possible variations in the term *hashtag*, I suggest turning to one, which can be found in the dictionary. According to the OED, *a hashtag* is defined as:

(on social media websites and applications) a word or phrase preceded by a hash and used to identify messages relating to a specific topic. Also the hash symbol itself, when used in this way (OED 2019).

Hashtags consist of a # sign and a word or phrase after this sign (Zappavigna 2017: 213) so that hashtags can be easily recognized by the audience. Additionally, they are often written in blue like hyperlinks and can be “findable” by the audience.

What is more, the OED mentions the connection between hashtags and one of the social media platforms on the Internet, Twitter, as well as the general association of the term with this social media platform. The reason for this is connected with the history of Twitter. Being a simple platform with a limited number of functions, where users were supposed to write short messages consisting of a small number of signs about their current actions (Bruns & Burgess 2011: 2; Zappavigna 2017: 205-206), it grew into a platform with many possibilities for users and readers. The idea of hashtags as a tool for structuring conversations was one among the other innovations implemented into Twitter social media platform (Bruns & Burgess 2011). One important aspect of this definition is the relation of hashtags and the message in which they are used to a certain topic, and they can thus “annotate uploaded contents” (Lee & Chau 2018: 21). This part of the definition is connected to the notion of “searchable talk” (Zappavigna 2015). However, hashtags can be used for other reasons as well.

As hashtags are a relatively new phenomenon, this field offers many opportunities for research. First, online communication itself opens new horizons in the field of research. Second, hashtags (as a part of computer-mediated communication) are becoming one of the targets of linguistic research. For example, Zappavigna (2017: 212) mentions new peculiarities of communication that appear with the help of hashtags, such as ‘searchable talk’, “discourse that relies on forms of social tagging to create alignments with potential audiences”.

As hashtags usually appear in messages in written form, they are part of *asynchronous computer-mediated communication* (Dynel 2017: 64). They can become part of *one-to-one, one-to-many or many-to-many* types of communication (Dynel 2017: 64) depending on the context, number of participants and the initial sender of the message with the hashtag. These relations between the sender, the message and the audience are informative and important, because they can influence the way hashtags become popular. For example, if the original sender used a one-to-one type of online communication, it is likely that the hashtag would not become popular and would not be reposted by other users. However, there could be exceptions, for example, when the user is a celebrity or when the used hashtag is extraordinary. In contrast, if a hashtag is used in one-to-many or many-to-many types of online communication, there are more chances that the audience would repost, reuse and share it. What is more, depending on the choice of the hashtag, it is possible to influence the style and the tone of the message and the attitude towards the reader (for example, will the message be more formal or informal). So, there are many peculiarities in the use of hashtags in social media.

Wikström (2014: 130) gives a typology of hashtags and the ways they can be used. Additionally, the scholar mentions multifunctionality in the use of hashtags:

1. topic tags;
2. hashtag games;
3. meta-comments;
4. parenthetical explanations/additions;
5. emotive usage;
6. emphatic usage;
7. humorous and playful usage;
8. memes and popular culture references.

Apart from structuring the content of messages, hashtags can demonstrate the attitude of a user towards the post. Interestingly enough, the post can contain any information from a simple picture to a meaningful social event. For example, users can intend to tag pictures to organise them for their own convenience, to add the information to the picture, to advertise their photos to others and they might have some other kinds of motivation, too (Ames & Naaman 2007). The study conducted by Ames and Naaman

(2007) analyses tagging on such platforms as Flickr and Zone Tag; however, their taxonomy can also be applied to tagging on such platforms as Instagram.

Another example of demonstrating emotions towards the post is found in Lee and Chau (2018), who investigate the relations between hashtags, users' emotions and a famous social movement, the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong in 2014. Apart from that, Lee and Chau pay attention to the connection between hashtags and users' identities in social media and the connection between online and offline uses of reactions. For example, Lee and Chau (2018: 27) point out that hashtags "are shaped by and reshape offline practices". The activity with hashtags is not purposeless, people involved into this activity choose the way they can be engaged in real events connected to this hashtag activity. In this particular case, hashtags illustrated emotions and "Cantonese hashtags became a valuable commodity to construct Hongkongers' distinct national identity" (Lee & Chau 2018: 28). Another important conclusion is that emotions are expressed not only by hashtags, but also "through intertextual and multimodal ties between the images, the hashtags, as well as texts from outside Instagram" (Lee & Chau 2018: 28).

Sometimes hashtags can be included in messages without any apparent goal of classifying the material. Some users add hashtags to their posts to attract attention, increase the number of 'likes' and 'followers' (these notions will be explained in chapter 3). However, sometimes hashtags seem to become an unnecessary part of the message. For example, Scott (2018: 57) gives an example from the *Guardian Online* newspaper, where users choose to include hashtags in their communication even though the platform does not have a searching tool for that (Scott 2018). In other words, even if a message contains a hashtag, it will be impossible to search for other messages using the same hashtag. Scott (2018) points out that linking and categorisation are not the primary reasons to use hashtags anymore as some hashtags are used not only in social media (such as Twitter and Instagram), but also in spoken, face-to-face communication. Speakers can pronounce a word *hashtag* and a relevant word or phrase that suits the situation at a moment of conversation, for example, hashtags *sorrynotsorry*, *metoo* or *justsaying* that are widely used in written communication in the Internet can be used in oral communications as well.

Another interesting example of the functions of hashtags is their use to build a certain type of community. This can take place in the Internet in general or during special social movement events or various campaigns. Apart from the Umbrella Movement 2014

in Hong Kong, some other events are also marked with hashtags which make these events or campaigns famous (for example, *#meetoo*). Another example of hashtag use as a tool to attract attention to a problem and to support a particular community is the “‘unibrennt’ (‘university is burning’) protest movement” (Maireder & Schwarzenegger 2012).

Apart from Twitter, some other social media platforms have been used to ‘promote’ the events and campaigns as well, such as Facebook. So, hashtags can work both as topic definers and community organisers. Maireder and Schwarzenegger (2012: 184) mention that it was easy for other users to find the posts connected to the topic:

By searching for the respective Hashtags marking messages relating to the unibrennt protest, people were able to follow all the conversations related to the movement, including messages sent by users outside their list of professional contacts (‘following list’). People were able to follow the conversations live and, if they liked, to get immediately involved in the discourses on the community’s issue within Twitter.

Generally, the use of internet communication (and the use of hashtags as well) depends on the affordances and the users aims. The affordances differ for various groups of participants (Gruber 2017: 2). What is more, according to Hutchby, they can provide a wide range of decisions for the use of internet communication and at the same time, they limit the number of them:

Affordances are functional in the sense that they are enabling, as well as constraining, factors in a given organism’s attempt to engage in some activity: for instance, walking, or hiding, photocopying a document, and so on. Certain objects, environments or artefacts have affordances which enable the particular activity while others do not. But at the same time the affordances can shape the conditions of possibility associated with an action: it may be possible to do it one way, but not another. The relational aspect, by contrast, draws our attention to the way that the affordances of an object may be different for one species than for another (2001: 448).

2.2. Discourse and genres and Internet posts in social media

The language of the Internet is multilateral from the perspective of its functions. The number of functions depends on the platform language is used for and the audience that is meant to be the target. Social media is often used for communication and interaction, and internet posts tend to have a target reader (it can be the particular user mentioned with

an @ sign). However, even though there might be a potential target reader, if the post is publicly available, it can be read by the unlimited number of users of the platform.

As this study is based on the language material from the Internet and different social media platforms, it is crucial to pay special attention to the variety of genres that exist in social media and on the combination of genres. Almost all texts written in the Internet (and on various social media platforms as well) belong to the field of computer-mediated discourse. However, not all texts from the Internet share similar linguistic properties: they differ in the choice of vocabulary, style, and, for example, aim.

The term *genre* can be described from different perspectives. However, it seems to be important to mention situations where different genres can be found. Giltrow and Stein (2009: 2) provide readers with an example of a distinction between genres and text types developed by Biber (1988): genre can be understood as a “situational category”, whereas a text type is based on linguistic features and their system. Genres may also have their own linguistic features. Such linguistic characteristics are often called styles. In other words, style is a classification of various markers that determine one genre and features that can determine a small (limited) number of genres that are close to each other (Giltrow & Stein 2009: 3). For example, an Internet blog can be considered to be a genre. It has both its own linguistic characteristics and characteristics that are used in other genres as well: for example, the style of a blog is close to oral speech. Such stylistic features may be usual for an informal oral communication.

According to Giltrow & Stein (2009), a discourse cannot exist without being connected to a genre. When, for example, the problem with genre categorization existed in rhetorical theories, scholars used Bakhtin’s division of genres: primary genres and secondary genres. In this case, practically anything (apart from conversational genres) can belong to secondary speech genres (Giltrow & Stein 2009: 6-7). However, the division of genres seems to be more problematic than a simple binary contrast. Additionally, Internet genres tend to be more problematic as they represent a mixture of genres and styles.

Several factors influence the system of Internet genres and make it look different from an ordinary communication:

the vast and variable range, new pull and push mechanisms, new distance-synchronic forms of communication, new combinations of N-to-N — the number

of people speaking and the number of people receiving the communication — and the high speed as well as the archiving of interaction (Giltrow & Stein 2009: 9).

Despite the fact that the number of text varieties in the Internet is limited, text genres are relatively flexible. Texts written in the Internet can be eclectic and can be modified according to the requirements of the target audience and the aim of the author. Giltrow and Stein (2009: 10) single out two possible reasons for the flexibility of Internet genres. One of these reasons is connected with the target audience and “customization”. In this case, Internet platforms allow users to test genres and see, how they will work in the sphere, where rules and norms of writing are not as strict as in real life. Internet genres seem to have fewer obligations in terms of etiquette and propriety. Such freedom can be illustrated by simple etiquette norms of greeting. It is possible to notice that not all of the users greet their interlocutors at the beginning of a conversation in the Internet. On the contrary, it is difficult to imagine a conversation without any greeting in real life.

It is possible to distinguish Internet genres according to the platforms these texts are written on. However, if we keep in mind flexibility of these genres, we will find out that determining genres is problematic. For example, various authors can use social media platforms for different purposes: to broadcast news, to write reviews, to advertise goods and services, to tell others about their private life, to sell goods and services and for many other purposes. This can be understood as one of the beneficial sides of Internet blogs or personal accounts on social media platforms: one can write about any topic and can change the orientation of the page at any moment. For example, Grafton (2009: 85) shows how one of the bloggers writes her texts about a wide variety of things and events including “reading (entries that include her own book reviews and to read lists) <...> commentaries on news items, observations about popular culture, and narratives of what she did on the weekend”.

The blog is a very wide genre. It combines ordinary blogs that have their own Internet pages and personal accounts on social media because such accounts allow users to share their thoughts on various topics as well. Despite the fact that the blog is a popular genre in the Internet, it is also possible to pay attention not only to the text of posts, but also to “social actions” (Grafton 2009: 86) of blogs, the purpose of their publications and the varieties of types of blogs.

One of the ideas developed by Grafton (2009: 86) in her work is the multifunctionality of Internet posts. This means that one post can be used to broadcast

various social actions and can include a various number of different genres. Grafton (2009) gives an example of the work by Laura Gurak et al. (2004), who say that the variety of topics from Internet posts cannot define a blog. Instead of this, a blog can be defined by its form and functions.

Blogs and posts written on social media platforms tend to be shorter than ordinary blogs that are written by their authors on their own webpages. This is the reason why sometimes writing on such platforms is called micro-blogging. The size of the posts in social media is inevitably smaller than in ordinary posts, but the appearance and design are often similar. What is more, some of social media posts can be considered to be *small stories*.

Small stories are a type of storytelling, when the author tells about the events that are either recent or planned in the near future. Additionally, such stories tie the previous interactions of the participants to their future interactions. Small stories are not finished and completed stories, but they can be considered to be “a part of a trajectory of interactions” (Georgakopoulou 2007: 40).

If we take examples from social media platforms, it is possible to find two major types of cohesion between small stories. The first type is when all analysed posts belong to one author and share a common topic. If the author writes about an event and publishes the text in two or more posts, it is possible to notice the sequence of actions from the past actions to the more recent ones. This can potentially influence the reader’s understanding, as we usually begin our stories from describing actions in the past and finish stories describing the more recent events. However, the reader sees such stories (that are divided into two posts) in a reversed chronological order. Another example can show that the authors of the posts can differ, but the posts can still be connected to each other either by the same topic, event or action or by some visible detail. Such detail can be expressed by the particular hashtag, addressing the particular user, the same location and many other things.

Speaking about the types of small stories, Georgakopoulou (2007) mentions one of the possible taxonomies:

- 1) Stories to be told;
- 2) Breaking news;
- 3) Projections;
- 4) Shared stories.

It is possible that small stories in social media combine features from different types of small stories. For example, one can write a post about breaking news and not tell all the information. Additionally, if the user decides to write *to be continued*, from this moment such a story belongs to two categories simultaneously: breaking news and stories to be told. Another example is the situation when an author includes an original post (reposted or retweeted) into their text. In this case, the author shares somebody's story and adds their own narration. This shows that the division between the types of small stories is not strict and authors can mix the types according to their aims.

It is possible to use the structure presented by Georgakopoulou (2007) as the types have their own idiosyncrasies. However, it is also possible to distinguish types of small stories according to the emotional reactions they cause. What I mean is the emotional reactions that the audience gets after reading Internet posts. For example, jokes and funny stories evoke positive emotions and entertain the audience. Some small stories in social media aim to achieve such emotional reaction from their readers and followers.

Another type that can possibly be distinguished is business orientated small stories. Many social media platforms use advertising for promotion of goods and services. If an Internet post in social media spreads promotional campaigns using small stories, such type can be singled out as well. Social media posts can combine small stories, advertising, simple sharing of the information and many other issues. Additionally, one element of a post can become important in several posts. Such mixture can be called an *uptake*, which is “a productive means to study the textual shift that marks situational overlap” (Grafton 2009: 94). Such a tool can be used with hashtags, when one hashtag can work as a hyperlink to some other post and at the same time be significant in the genre of the original post.

Another issue that is connected to the use of hashtags and the spread of information in the Internet is the difference between it and other media sources. In the world, where social media partly substitute printed media the presentation of the information (and the additional tools such as hashtags and hyperlinks that help to present it) slightly changes. It can become more compendious or it can present the reversed order of events: the user of the Internet can first receive the information about the event and only after that find the interpretations of it. On the contrary, when we receive the information from the news or the newspaper, we get both the information about the event and the interpretation of it (Diller 2000: 210). Speaking about the additional tools used in social media (for example,

hashtags), one cannot omit their role as topic definers (Wikström 2014). In this case, social media saves space in the post and saves the time of the reader.

Speaking about the language, text, and discourse in the media, Garrett and Bell (1998: 2-3) mention that these notions are blurred and that “text takes on more of the interactive qualities of discourse”. Garrett and Bell (1998: 3) provide the readers with an attempt to define the term *discourse* in connection to media and quote Cook’s (Cook 1992: 1) definition of discourse, the analysis of discourse and its features:

It also examines the context of communication: who is communicating with whom and why; in what kind of society and situation, through what medium; how different types of communication evolved, and their relationship to each other.

Such a definition gives an overview of the most important aspects of the Internet language use. What is important for this particular work, are the types of communication that can be combined in the material from social media platforms and the connection of such combinations with the use of the examined hashtag.

Van Dijk (1998) mentions several components that are necessary for journalism and media (it is important here because some social media platforms act as usual sources of news and information nowadays). These components (ideologies, opinions and media discourse) have complicated relations because usually they influence each other. Ideologies seem to be important because they quite often determine the choice of discourse:

We propose that ideologies reflect the basic criteria that constitute the social identity and define the interests of a group. That is, ideologies may be represented as group self-schemata, featuring such categories as *Membership* (‘Who belongs to our group? Who may be admitted?’), *Activities* (‘What do we do?’), *Goals* (‘Why do we do this?’), *Values* (‘How should we do this?’), *Position* (‘Where are we? What are our relations to other groups?’) and *Resources* (‘What do we have, and what do we not have?’) (Van Dijk 1998: 25).

In the case of social media, these categories of ideologies can be performed by hashtags. Some social media platforms allow users to act as journalists, and hashtags help to organize the text and prepare the target audience for the text of the post. For example, the hashtag can inform the audience about the goal of the author (for example, to advertise a marketing campaign or to share an emotional reaction). The link between ideologies and discourse usually looks like a chain: first, ideologies form the groups and the

attitudes, then according to the attitudes personal opinions are formulated, after that these opinions are expressed in the text and discourse (Van Dijk 1998: 27).

It is possible to give various definitions of the term *discourse*. For example, Wyke (2009: 90) follows Jaworski and Coupland and defines *discourse* as a:

language use relative to social, political and cultural formations – it is language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order, and shaping individuals' interaction with society (see Jaworski & Coupland 1999: 3 as cited in Wyke 2009: 90).

The texts written on various social media platforms often reflect points of view of people (and users of various social media platforms) on different social or political events. This is why it is important that the definition of discourse mentions not only the reflection of these events, but also the construction of points of views (and interaction of users on the basis of such points of view).

I base my analysis of the posts from Instagram and Twitter on the model of the analysis used by Jaworski and Coupland (1999) and Wyke (2009). Wyke's (2009: 90) approach is based on two layers: the analysis of language and the understanding that language can be a tool to provide upper (bigger) layers, for example, thoughts, points of view, ways of life. Based on Jaworski and Coupland (1999), Wyke (2009: 90-91) mentions several aspects that are important for discourse analysis:

1. the importance of the context of communication;
2. the connection of the content of the message and the way it is expressed in the text;
3. the interpretation of the content by the author and by the researcher (or any other recipient);
4. smaller layers of the analysis can help to build a bigger picture of the situation.

It seems that the narrative type of text is basic, and that is can be applied to social media platforms as well. Labov (2011) defines narrative as "one way of recounting past events, in which the order of narrative clauses matches the order of events as they occurred". However, the tense should not necessarily be past for the text to be narrative. For example, if one tells about something that will happen in the future (telling about one's plans could be such an example), the sequence of the events can still be in the right order as they are planned to occur. However, they may occur in future.

Social media texts are often written as narrative texts (both in the future and in the past tenses). The reason for it is the need to tell about some kind of sequences or events for the audience. However, users can choose other text types depending on the aims of their texts. For example, the notion of *intertextuality* can be important and have an impact on the choice of the type of the text (Virtanen 1992: 297).

Texts from social media platforms can work in different directions. For example, a piece of text can be written as narrative, but the aim of the text can be recreational or professional (such as news sharing).

2.3.Social media and marketing

Nowadays, with the development of various Internet platforms, marketing can spread and be noticed almost everywhere. Personal blogs, YouTube channels and simple posts in Instagram may contain a big variety of advertisements and promotion. Companies create their own profile pages as well as ordinary users do. Both companies and users start promoting products, campaigns, events and many other things that can be promoted. Marketers search for new opportunities to develop the market, attract new clients and find new ways of advertising products that are going to be customized. According to the example of Constantinides (2014: 42), around 50% of the surveyed companies (a study by Center for Media Research in 2010) were planning to include social media into their marketing plans.

Text written for social media can have marketing functions and belong to a type of professional discourse. Durant (2010: 177) mentions possible ways to represent a product with the help of professional discourse:

1. Show a photo;
2. Name the product (or introduce the product linguistically);
3. Present a description of the product;
4. Add further information to the description (such as warning or instructions);
5. Connote with qualities and values;
6. Connote with the consumer (connection with their lifestyle, music);
7. Puff favourable characteristics;
8. Compare the product with equivalent products;
9. Disparage a competitor;
10. Attract attention to the product (any association with the product).

Constantinides mentions two main approaches to social media marketing: the passive and the active approaches. The former approach is used “to provide marketers with information about market needs, customer experiences, competitive movements and trends”, the latter is used for more energetic ways of marketing such as direct marketing (Constantinides 2014: 45).

2.4. Electronic word-of-mouth

Ordinary *word-of-mouth (WOM)* is communication which allows consumers of any goods to share their thoughts about the product, experience of using it, or opinions about the product itself or its functions (Jalilvand et al. 2011: 42). With the development of the Internet and various social media platforms, customers got an opportunity to share their opinions with other customers or potential customers. Despite the fact that these people have never met, their conversation can still happen. Such electronic conversations are called *electronic word-of-mouth (eWOM)*.

One of the significant features of eWOM is that “communicated messages are independent without commercial purpose or influence” (Xie et al. 2017: 5). What is more, the studies based on the eWOM mostly focus on e-commerce or social media platforms (Xie et al. 2017: 5). This means that social media platforms can act as instruments for spreading eWOM conversations about various marketing campaigns, products and events.

Generally, WOM conversations “direct buyers towards and away from specific products, brands, and services” (Jalilvand et al. 2011: 42; Hawkins et al. 2004). Additionally, emotions that consumers felt during the process of use of a product acted as a motivation to share their thoughts with other consumers or potential consumers (Jalilvand et al. 2011: 42; Neelamegham & Jain 1999). With the development of the Internet, electronic forms of WOM are becoming more popular. One of the reasons for this is the availability of Internet shopping where consumers and customers cannot evaluate the quality and functionality of a product. There are different examples of eWOM that can be both synchronous and asynchronous, for example, Instant Messaging, emails or blogs (Jalilvand et al. 2011: 44).

eWOM is tightly connected to advertising in the Internet. As Internet users pay attention only to those posts or pictures that are relevant to them, they tend to skip the irrelevant information. This ability to focus on the most important and relevant

information is called “selective attention” (Chang & Wang 2019: 29). This means that those advertisements that are not relevant for the particular user would most probably be left “unseen” or will be skipped by the user. There is a point of view that eWOM is more “cost-effective” and powerful than traditional WOM (Chang & Wang 2019: 29). Additionally, there are different points of view on the marketing power of eWOM. Some scholars see eWOM as a reliable source of information that is not influenced by others (Chang & Wang 2019: 31; Dellarocas, 2003). On the other hand, there is a view that eWOM is a “powerful marketing source” (Cheung & Thadani 2012: 461). The importance of the platform that is used for communication plays is increasing with the development of the Internet as well:

The contextual factor, namely the platform in which people exchange information, is what distinguishes eWOM from traditional WOM. Due to the rapidly changing nature of the Internet, the contextual factor – the platform – is expected to be one of the most crucial factors impacting the eWOM adoption process in future (Cheung & Thadani 2012: 468).

This means that social media platforms can be used as platforms for eWOM. What is more, these platforms can offer some of their tools (such as hashtags) for marketing purposes.

3. Hashtags and memes in social media

3.1. The social media platform Instagram

Instagram is one of the social media platforms, where users can post pictures or videos, provide the visual material with text or description (which is optional) and communicate with other users in many ways. Apart from that, social media tools allow users to give their 'likes' (to appreciate the media content or the text of a post users can press on the 'heart' button to make others see that they liked this particular post), comment on posts in the comment section and share posts with the help of additional platforms and applications.

Many users download Instagram as an application on their smartphones in order to have an access to the social media platform and to be able to receive notifications and to answer as soon as possible. What is more, Instagram has a function of private messages, which means that this application can be used for private communication and sharing of visual content. Users can discuss visual material either in sections that are publicly available (such as a section of comments) or via the personal message section, where no one would see the comments. The interface shows that users can film short videos-stories, which typically vanish after a period of time. Some users save their stories for their personal reasons. Such stories can then be watched again, as they are placed in a specific section of the account.

However, some users prefer to access Instagram from the personal computer. In this case, a user will not receive any notifications about incoming messages or comments right away.

There are different types of profiles on this platform. Some profiles are personal, whereas others are used as business profiles. For example, a café or a shop can have a business profile on their own that can be used for marketing, advertisements, collaborations and promotion. Both personal profiles and business pages can have 'followers' (people who subscribe and see new posts in their timeline of new posts). Both types of profiles can follow other personal pages or business profiles.

A very important tool in Instagram is the possibility to use privacy settings. In this case, a user can make the profile private so that other unsubscribed users will not have a possibility to see the posts, comments and other information of this particular user. This

is important to mention because if the account is private, other users cannot find visual content by for example searching for particular hashtags.

Typically, a user shares some kind of a visual content (like photos or videos) and adds their own description of that content. Users can also address the post to any other user. This can be done by either adding the username with the sign @ or by tagging (mentioning) this username on the photo. For example, if several people are in the photo, they can be tagged on it. If a user does not want to be tagged, there is also a possibility to delete all the tags. If this is done, followers lose the opportunity to see any visual content where the user was tagged.

Another function, which can be used in the post, is employing hashtags. They can only be placed in the text in the description section. However, the place and their function in the text can vary. Additionally, their place and function can vary depending on the type of profile of the user. For example, an ordinary user can put hashtags at the end of the description to get more likes. If the particular hashtag is popular enough, people may search for it and might like those posts that contain the hashtag. The other reason for a personal user to add hashtags could be the intention to structure the material or make it easier for other users to find the material. For example, if a user adds a picture of an animal, they may want this picture to appear in the list with all other pictures of animals. If a user adds the hashtag *#animal*, other users will also see this picture when they search for the hashtag *#animal*.

When a business profile adds hashtags, this might be more important for the promotion of their business. One of the reasons is their financial interest. For example, hashtags can become a part of a marketing campaign; they can either be a big part of it or just support the campaign in social media. Apart from that, hashtags can be used to indicate the event. In this case all photos and videos that are marked by a specific hashtag will appear if someone searches for this specific hashtag.

Another important function of Instagram is the search tool. Users can search for a username, for example if they want to follow the particular user. However, there are other possible search sections as well. The search engine provides several options: for example, people, hashtags and places. A user can type a particular place and search for pictures that were tagged by this location. If a user searches for the particular hashtag, the material tagged by such a hashtag will be shown as a result of such search.

3.2. The social media platform Twitter

Twitter is another example of a social media platform where people share the content they prefer. The main difference between Twitter and Instagram is in the type of content that is compulsory to share in order to make a post. In Instagram, the visual part of the content is obligatory: otherwise it will be impossible to download anything. Twitter allows users to post text without visual material. However, there is a possibility to share visual content as well if users wish to do so.

In the section about Twitter, the description of the network says: “Twitter is what’s happening in the world and what people are talking about right now” (Twitter, 2018). This description makes users understand why the main feature of this social network is the limited number of characters in any post.

Despite the fact that a post cannot consist of more than a limited number of characters, users can post links as well as share pictures, GIFs and emoji. Apart from that, another function of Twitter, ‘retweeting’, makes it possible for users to create dialogs or share an opinion online. Such interactions will also consist of several tweets by other users.

Speaking about a conversation (for example, a dialog), which consists of several retweeted messages and replies to them, it is important to mention that all followers of an account that uses such a form of communication become participants in it. Dynel (2017: 65) lists different types of communication in online platforms: one-to-one, one-to-many, many-to-many and some others. What is more, Goffman (1981:9-10, 131-133) divides participants into *ratified* and *unratified* ones:

Observe now that, broadly speaking, there are three kinds of listeners to talk: those who *overhear*, whether or not their unratified participation is inadvertent and whether or not it has been encouraged; those (in the case of more than two-person talk) who are ratified participants but are not specifically addressed by the speaker; and those ratified participants who *are* addressed, that is, oriented to by the speaker in a manner to suggest that his words are particularly for them, and that some answer is therefore anticipated from them, more so than from the other ratified participants (1981: 9-10).

Twitter is an example of a platform where all these types can be combined and mixed. For example, when a user writes a post addressing somebody directly (usually with an @ sign) but publishes the post making it available for all their followers, such a post becomes an example of mixed types of communication. It belongs to one-to-one and

one-to-many types simultaneously. The users who were not mentioned in this post but read it and decide to answer or comment on it, immediately become ratified participants. This is so because they become participants of this particular dialog. The conversation in social media can thus be flexible and influenced by many factors.

3.3. Memes in social media

According to the OED, *Internet meme* is

an image, video, piece of text, etc., typically humorous in nature, that is copied and spread rapidly by Internet users, often with slight variations (OED 2019).

Usually people think about images with some humorous text when they think of a meme. However, there are also other types of memes. Speaking about the way some material can become a meme, it is important to mention context. A word or a phrase can become a meme if it is a part of the context that users understand. Zappavigna (2018: 169) states:

Perhaps one of the most powerful dimensions by which they do this [shape the behaviour and points of view] is via the ability to take something from one context and use it to make a comment on something from a very different context (often to both humorous and insightful effect). For example, a phrase originally produced on a TV show might be used to comment on a political issue.

Taking this information into account, it is possible to say that the hashtag *#ryanneedsgrinder* that is in focus of this study, can bear some characteristics typical of memes. First, it is based on another hashtag *#idrisneedsgrinder*, which was used during a campaign to attract the attention of Idris Elba, a movie actor, a year earlier. Second, the hashtag is copied and employed by users of different social media platforms. Third, some of the posts that contain this hashtag are accompanied by images, which are sometimes the same in different posts by different users. Fourth, all the posts that contain this hashtag share a common context of the marketing campaign of the particular café.

Zappavigna (2018: 172) points out that a “hashtag meme” is a meme that is quite often associated not only with words, but also with phrases. She says that sometimes such hashtag memes are expressed as a complaint of some form (Zappavigna 2018: 172). However, the latter is not a compulsory requirement for a phrase to be considered to be hashtag meme.

4. Methods and material

4.1. Material

The material for this study is the hashtag *#ryanneedsgrinder* and its context in two kinds of social media platforms: Instagram and Twitter. The hashtag appeared as a tool for a Canadian marketing campaign. First, it was used as a part of posts in different kinds of social media (such as Instagram and Twitter) by the initiators of the campaign. However, other users (for example, followers of the initiators of this campaign or users who came across the campaign accidentally) started to share posts dedicated to it. This made the campaign popular and spread it among these social media platforms.

The campaign took place during the Toronto International Film Festival in 2018, which is why the initiators of the campaign and other users could choose to mark their posts with the hashtag connected to this event. The material for this work consists of two parts. The first part is formed by posts that were collected from Twitter. The second part consists of posts that were collected from Instagram. All the material was collected on 06.02.2019. The investigated material consists of 76 posts in Instagram and 46 posts in Twitter.

As the material was collected from two Internet platforms, it is important to discuss the ethical aspects of the research. All the material was collected without logging into the systems. This means that all the examined posts are publicly available and can be accessed without creating an account on these social media platforms. Users may hide their posts if they wish to do so, in which case Instagram only shows the available posts. Therefore, when one searches for any hashtag, Instagram will show only those posts that are available according to the privacy settings. According to the rules of Instagram and users' privacy settings, the outside audience can get access to publicly available posts without having an account. In other words, the posts used in this research are available to everyone who searches for this particular hashtag in Instagram.

All posts contain a piece of text and the hashtag *#ryanneedsgrinder*. The difference between the posts is in the amount of text (first, this depends on the social media platform and its rules; second, it depends on the wish of the user). Another difference is in the appearance of a discussion or a dialog between users (for example, when users answer somebody's post and repost the original text). In this case, the

audience becomes involved in the communication process and can take part in it by answering in the section for comments.

Apart from that, the difference is in the additional material that appears in the text. For example, Twitter allows users to add a link to the post and share it with the audience. Such a function can act as another way of reposting material. What is more, it allows users to tell the audience more despite the limitation of characters (the audience can use the link and read the information from the shared source).

The main difference between these two social media is the layout and the content of the post. Instagram requires the user to post a picture or video, whereas in Twitter users can write texts without any visual additions. However, it is still possible to add extra material to the post in Twitter.

What is more, material in Instagram and Twitter differs in the way it is presented by the users. When users decide to reply to somebody's post or share it in their accounts, they can use a repost function. This means that the original text (which is reposted) appears in the analyzed posts as well. Such a function lets the audience read the whole dialog by several users and be involved in this kind of social media discussion.

4.2.Methods

The methods used in this study include observation, and text and discourse analysis. One of the most important parts of the study is observation of the material and interpretation of the place of the examined hashtag and its role in the text. According to Titscher et al. (2000), this method is one of the most often chosen methods when a researcher collects data. The hashtag is analyzed from the perspective of the position that it has in the post. Depending on its position in the post, the roles of the hashtag will be described.

Another important part of the research is dedicated to the analysis of the language of the posts by applying discourse analysis. Three main characteristics will be important for such analysis: function, (underlying) form and position (Waters 2016: 44). For example, as this study is dedicated to the analysis of the hashtag, these characteristics can be used to describe the behavior of the hashtag in the text and the variations it can bring to the present data of online discourse.

The overview of the main characteristics of recreational and professional types of discourse helps to distinguish discourse types in the posts. Apart from that, interaction analysis helps to describe online communication in Twitter where users make posts,

retweets and reply to other users. Such an analysis shows the connection between different layers and levels of discourse, for example, “micro and macro-levels” (Wyke 2009: 89). Additionally, the way the hashtag is used and shared manifests some “meme-like” characteristics. For example, changes that some users apply to the existing hashtag may be seen as a potential opportunity to create a meme.

The analysis of reposts and retweets shows the role of the hashtag in them and in the whole campaign. The position of the hashtag helps to understand how people use the hashtag and how they incorporate it into the text of their posts.

5. The hashtag in Instagram and Twitter: position in the text

5.1. The hashtag incorporated into the text of the posts

Posts published in Instagram show various ways of using the hashtag. One of them is incorporation of it into the text, when it appears in the middle of the text of the post. The examined posts show the variety of the positions of the particular hashtag. First, the hashtag is used among the text that has been written by the user themselves. Second, the hashtag is incorporated into the text that has been reposted. In this study, both ways of using the hashtag are examined as a way of incorporation of the hashtag into the text despite the fact that some users repeat posts of other users. The reason for this is the choice and the purpose of the user to make a repost and to include the original post into their own. As the function of reposting and retweeting is not the default, users can freely post their messages without any additional text written by others. I assume that those users who decided to include the text of another user in their own did it on purpose, not accidentally. This is why the existence of the original text seems to be important in the resulting text.

5.1.1. Instagram

In the majority of cases the hashtag is used within a text, not as separate from it. The material showed that in 51 cases out of 76 the hashtag was used within the text.

However, according to my observation, a position of this kind is not the most common for the use of hashtags. Usually hashtags are located either at the beginning of the post, or at the end of it. This can be partly explained by their functions. What is more, users often choose to list all hashtags together, so that they create a kind of a unity. One of the reasons to do so is probably the structure of the post. The boundaries of the text become more visible and the section with hashtags is separated from the main part of the text so that the audience recognizes these two sections.

One of the reasons for the incorporation of the hashtags into the text could be their visual specifics. This is an example of multimodality in the computer-mediated text. Hashtags in Instagram are usually written in blue, whereas the ordinary text is written in black. What is more, they are marked with a # sign, which makes them stand out of the

rest of the text. Such differences make hashtags conspicuous and the audience is thus likely to pay attention to them.

Quite often hashtags are used as a part of a noun phrase, especially as modifiers (Huddleston & Pullum 2005). When the hashtag is used to define the word *campaign* or the word *hashtag*, it acts as an optional dependent, which characterizes the word itself.

The examples from the material show that users tend to choose similar models when they incorporate the hashtag into their texts. For example, some users name the campaign with the help of the hashtag. As the campaign was organized by the owners of the café account, the way the hashtag was used was partly dictated by this account. The account that started the campaign (the owner of the café) chose to publish the message with the incorporated hashtag:

- (1) Day 3 of our *#ryanneedsgrinder* campaign. We understand *#ryangosling* that you are in town for *#tiff2018* to promote your new film *#firstman*. We also understand that there is a wee bit of controversy surrounding it. Want talk about it? Chat over coffee? Maybe invite *#clairefoy* for a *#coffeedate* , we love her too. Joelle is a very good listener. *#coffeeshoplife* *#tiff* *#coffeetalk*

This example shows the difference between the use of the examined hashtag and other hashtags of the text. The most significant words in this text (in other words, keywords) are marked as hashtags. Sometimes words and phrases in hashtags are non-standard in format: compounds written as one word, names as one word with no capitals. However, this does not change the meaning of such hashtags. In the original text, all the hashtags are written in blue, so in contrast to the ordinary text they look more significant. As the aim of this post is to invite Ryan Gosling, the most significant hashtag is located at the beginning of the message (my italics).

Hashtags are often used as a part of the sentence (when they are syntactically connected to the other units of it). For example, hashtags can be used to name the campaign or to introduce the hashtag:

- (2) When one Toronto café owner started the hilarious social media campaign *#Ryanneedsgrinder*, she didn't expect it to go viral. And she definitely didn't expect this guy to show up. Tap our link in bio to read how *#RyanGosling* took time out of *#TIFF* to pay this local shop some good old fashion lovin' (Image: *@grindercoffeegerrard*)

This example shows that the hashtag is used as a tool for giving the event a name. This post also shows the variation in hashtags: in this particular case the hashtag begins with a capital letter. However, this does not have any significance for interpretation because the letter does not change the meaning of the hashtag.

Another example shows that some users tend to omit such words as *hashtag* or *campaign* and substitute them with the hashtag *#ryanneedsgrinder* itself. In the situation with the word *hashtag*, the sign # bears the same meaning. However, no sign can substitute the word *campaign*. This example shows how the user chooses to repost the message where *#ryanneedsgrinder* substitutes the word *hashtag*:

- (3) Ryan Gosling made like a good Canadian boy and went to visit @grindercoffeegerrard in Toronto on Tuesday after seeing their viral campaign! #tiff #tiff2018 #ryangosling #toronto #yyz #toronto_insta #mytoronto #the6ix #thesix #leslieville #torontointernationalfilmfestival #canada #canadaca #ohcanada #ohcanadaca #Ontario
#Repost @grindercoffeegerrard
And this happened... It worked!! Our *#ryanneedsgrinder* actually worked. The man himself #ryangosling showed up here and had a coffee with us. What a good sport (you can only imagine what Joelle actually said). Thanks for everyones support . A big thanks at Ryan for taking the time out of #tiff to visit #leslieville. What a gracious well brought up Canadian boy. Take that @idriselba your loss!!

This example shows that the hashtag is incorporated into the text of the sentence. Apart from other hashtags that are listed at the end of the text, this particular hashtag becomes a central part and a subject in the message where it is used. The same situation when the hashtag syntactically becomes a subject can be found in the example below:

- (4) @grindercoffeegerrard, a coffee spot on the east end, made a serious campaign for #RyanGosling to come to their shop during #TIFF. *#RyanNeedsGrinder* caught the attention of none other than Gosling himself and gave the shop a surprise visit! #NotableLife #NotableToronto (: @grindercoffeegerrard)

The hashtag *#ryanneedsgrinder* in this post was modified: the user decided to write each word of with a capital letter, which makes the reading of the hashtag easier. In this particular case, the hashtag substitutes the word defining it as well. However, it is difficult to find out which word the hashtag substitutes. Despite this fact, it is possible to understand the meaning and the context of the post.

5.1.2. Twitter

The material showed that 22 examples out of 46 contain the hashtag which is incorporated into the text. The space for the message in Twitter is limited (up to 280 characters), this could be the reason why some users decide to save space and use the hashtag as a part of their text, not additionally at the end of it.

Several users chose the hashtag to name the campaign in their posts, for example:

- (5) Thanks so much @TeriHart @BTtoronto and @rogerfpetersen for mentioning the *#ryanneedsgrinder* campaign as one of the best moments of 2018.
#Toronto #whoknowswhatnextyearwillbring

Additionally, this user reposted another message. Interestingly, there are two other hashtags used in the post as well: one is a self-created hashtag and the other is a usual one. Both of these two hashtags are placed at the end of the post, whereas the examined hashtag is incorporated into the text and is used to name the campaign.

Another example shows a situation, when the hashtag is used without any elaborating words such as *campaign*, *hashtag* or other words like that. The next example shows the use of the hashtag in the middle of the text as well. By contrast, there is one more hashtag used in the post. However, it is placed at the end of it, in a more usual position. The user does not share any extra material such as links or reposts, but chooses to add a picture (which is optional for this social media platform) of Ryan Gosling with a cup of coffee, which advertises the name of the café. The text of this example shows an invitation to the actor:

- (6) Good news we are back on twitter cause Monday begins our *#ryanneedsgrinder*. Come have coffee with us @RyanGosling while you are in town for #TIFF2018

Another example shows that despite the position of the hashtag at the end of the text, it could be a syntactical part of the sentence. In this case, the user omits the word *campaign* as well, but this does not bring any ambiguity to the text of the post:

- (7) Thanks so much for coming. We will let you know when he stops by *#ryanneedsgrinder*.

What is more, the text of this post is written as a reply to another user's post, which makes the context of the conversation clear for the rest of the audience.

A similar situation happens with the next example. The user omits the word which defines the hashtag; however, there are no difficulties to understand the context. The picture added to the post (Ryan Gosling with the owner of the café) is immersed into the context of the situation as well. It is interesting that all the hashtags used in the post are incorporated into it (both *#ryanneedsgrinder* and *#tiff*). The user chooses to include additional options (such as addressing) of Twitter to their post as well:

- (8) And this happened... *#ryanneedsgrinder* worked. The man himself showed up. What a good sport, a well brought up Canadian boy. We truly appreciate Ryan taking the time the time to visit us during *#tiff*. Take that *@idriselba* your loss.

Finally, the hashtag is frequently incorporated into the text on both social media platforms Instagram and Twitter, despite the differences between these sites (such as the limitations of characters in Twitter posts, the mandatory visual content in Instagram posts). The ways users include the hashtag into their texts seem to be similar as well. In some cases the hashtag is incorporated into the text, while other hashtags used in the same posts are located together either at the end or at the beginning of the text of the posts. This marks the particular hashtag *#ryanneedsgrinder* with additional significance.

5.2. The hashtag as a frame for social media posts

In this study, *frame use* indicates those cases when the hashtag is not used within the text of the post, when it is not incorporated into it. As hashtags are usually placed together, they tend either to ‘open’ the post and introduce the topic for the readers or to ‘close’ it for them. When hashtags are placed before the text, they usually work like the table of contents in a book: users tend to put the main topics and the main points in it. This kind of approach prepares readers for a specific text. In contrast, when hashtags are at the end, the reader first pays attention to the text and not to the topic definers. At the same time, hashtags are not necessarily connected to the contents of the post.

5.2.1. Instagram

In Instagram data, 25 posts out of 76 contain the examined hashtag in a position where it is not incorporated into the text. When hashtags frame the post it can help the audience to understand its context in case it is not clear enough. For example:

- (9) Любой день, проведённый с тобой- мой любимый день. Итак, сегодня мой любимый день. #mrbig #misterbig #ryanneedsgrinder #ryanneedsme

‘Every day spent with you is my favourite day. So, today is my favourite day. #mrbig #misterbig #ryanneedsgrinder #ryanneedsme’

In (9) it is clear that without the hashtags at the end of the post it would be impossible to find out the details of the context of this post. The hashtags explain what kind of meaning the deictic *you* has in this post. What is more, here we can notice that the user changed the famous hashtag #ryanneedsgrinder and creates a new #ryanneedsme. This means that such a syntactic model as *somebody needs something* can potentially be used by other users and that the hashtag can develop additional meanings other than those it had during the marketing campaign.

Another example shows that the hashtag used at the end of the message serves two functions simultaneously:

- (10) Thanks @blogto for your support. We will get #ryangosling here, we swear @idriselba will be so jealous when Ryan tells him what an awesome time he had. #torontocoffee #ryanneedsgrinder #toronto #coffee #gerrardstreteast #wecandoth is

First, the hashtag works in the marketing campaign for attracting the attention of the actor, as it does in the majority of cases. Additionally, the user mentions another hashtag in the text #ryangosling, conveying to the readers that the main aim of the campaign is to attract the attention of Ryan Gosling, not the other actor. Second, the post refers the audience to the previous campaign that took place one year before the campaign to attract the attention of Ryan Gosling. This is the reason why another user @idriselba is mentioned in the post. The post insults this user as well. However, it cannot be clear enough for the audience that reference is made to the previous campaign if the audience is not aware of it.

One of the reasons that the account of the café does not address Ryan Gosling directly could be that celebrities do not always have accounts in all social media (for example, both in Instagram and Twitter) or sometimes have a lot of fan and fake accounts. In this case, it is easier to create a hashtag and spread it in the Internet, for example, among fan accounts and groups. Another possible reason could be the intention to spread the news about the campaign among the users and information sources to receive a bigger feedback and to attract more attention from the audience and their potential customers.

Next, (11) is an example of tagging the keywords in the hashtag section:

- (11) Reason #302 why we love Ryan Gosling: he surprised a Toronto café with a visit because his mom told him to. Full story in bio! (@grindercoffeegerrard) #ryangosling #ryanneedsgrinder #TIFF #TIFF18 #celebritysighting #canadian

In (11) the examined hashtag is placed among the others at the end of the message in the hashtag section. All these hashtags serve one of the main functions of hashtags: stating the topic. These hashtags tell the audience about the person who was involved in the campaign, the event that took place during that time (and that was a key factor in the whole marketing campaign), the description of the action i.e. what the campaign involved, #celebritysighting, and some other features that can be significant for the event.

5.2.2. Twitter

In Twitter, 24 out of 46 examples show that the examined hashtag is used either before the main text of the post or after it, which fits into the category of a frame as is used in this research. As a result of the policy of the social media platform, the number of characters in Twitter is limited. This tends to make users incorporate the hashtag into the main text of the post. Almost half of the material represents such use of the hashtag.

However, the majority of the examples (approximately 52% of all examples found in Twitter) show that users choose to add the hashtag without any syntactic ties to the main text. In this case, the hashtag is placed in its usual position, either at the beginning or at the end of the message. In some examples the hashtag can be put among other hashtags, as in (12) below:

- (12) See @RyanGosling we are very dedicated to our campaign. 10 days of posting of why you should have coffee with us. #ryanneedsgrinder #toronto #TIFF2018 @blogTO #coffeetime ##coffeeto

Another user decided to use the hashtag after the main post as well. They briefly described the result of the campaign, added the link to the story, and placed two hashtags, which are more likely connected to the event than other hashtags:

- (13) Ryan Gosling paid a surprise visit to a Toronto coffee shop after its owner launched a social media campaign during #TIFF2018. #ryanneedsgrinder

This example shows both ways of hashtag use: one of the hashtags is incorporated into the text and acts as a time and place definer (*campaign during #TIFF2018*), whereas the other hashtag is used separately and additionally after the main text of the post. The first hashtag is important because it indicates the time and place of the event for those users who are not familiar with it. If the audience is not familiar with the event, they can follow the hashtag and see what kinds of posts are published in connection to this event. The second hashtag indicates the connection to the topic and to the campaign, this is why it is used after the main text.

Table 1 below, indicates the number of posts that contain the hashtag in two different positions: incorporated into the text and used as a frame for the text. It shows the differences between the uses of the hashtag in two different social media platforms. The total number of posts differs in two social media platforms. However, the distribution of the distribution of the ways in which the hashtag is used is not similar. Twitter shows that almost half of the posts (47, 82%) contain the hashtag incorporated into the text. The rest of the material (52, 17%), which is slightly bigger, contains the hashtag used as a frame. Instagram shows that the hashtag is incorporated into the text in the majority of cases (67, 10%). The rest of the material (32, 89%) indicates that the hashtag is used as a frame for the text of the posts.

Table 1. The position of the hashtag #ryanneedsgrinder in examined social media posts from Twitter and Instagram

Social media platform Position of the hashtag	Number of Instagram posts	Number of Twitter posts
The hashtag #ryanneedsgrinder incorporated into the text	51	22
The hashtag #ryanneedsgrinder used as a frame for the text	25	24
The total number of posts that contain the hashtag #ryanneedsgrinder	76 (50 posts contain text in English)	46 (42 posts contain text in English)

6. Reposts, retweets and additional links: functions of the hashtag

6.1. The repost function in Instagram and its influence on the posts

The repost function generally allows users to share some kind of text written by other users. This is typically the way of sharing a context of some kind of situation. However, different reasons and functions of sharing context can be distinguished. Generally the repost function in Instagram is used for the following reasons:

1. To give a general context of the situation to the audience;
2. To give a specific context if the user is replying to the original message;
3. To give a context when the user gives their own emotional reaction to the original text.

In all of these cases, the main aim is to share the context that the audience is not familiar with. The reason is that the followers of the user are not familiar with all the posts and other users that this particular user follows. This is why, if the user wants to answer to somebody's post or to share their own emotional reaction to it, simply addressing with a nickname will not work for the audience. The audience will recognize the user (the addressee), but not the post itself. In this case, the most efficient way to tell the whole story and to show the whole context is to make a repost of the original message. For example, example (1) shows that the message of the author is not clear without the original message that has been reposted:

- (1) Things that happen in my hood .. congrats @grindercoffeegerrard ... kudos to you ... #leslievillelove ... #Repost @grindercoffeegerrard with @get_repost
 . . .

And this happened... It worked!! Our #ryanneedsgrinder actually worked. The man himself #ryangosling showed up here and had a coffee with us. What a good sport (you can only imagine what Joelle actually said). Thanks for everyones support . A big thanks at Ryan for taking the time out of #tiff to visit #leslieville. What a gracious well brought up Canadian boy. Take that @idriselba your loss!!

In Instagram, 10 posts out of 76 posts are written with the help of the repost function. This means that these users included reposts into their posts on their personal pages. The majority of users, who included reposts, wrote their own commentaries on the reposted texts. However, there were cases when users published only reposted texts

without their own commentary. For example, in (2), the user does not add any own text to comment the reposted message, but adds emoticons marked with hashtag signs:

- (2) #Repost @grindercoffeegerrard with @get_repost #❤️👍❤️👍❤️👍 #👏👏👏👏 #👏
 . . .
 Thanks @blogto for your support. We will get #ryangosling here, we swear @idriselba will be so jealous when Ryan tells him what an awesome time he had. #torontocoffee #ryanneedsgrinder #toronto #coffee #gerrardstreeteast #wecandoth is #❤️👍❤️👍❤️👍 #👏👏👏👏

Such posts either contain the word *repost*, or it is clear that the user quotes another user: the user leaves a space or an empty line after their own text, mentions the name of the author of the original text (using @ sign), and includes the original text after the name of the account that has been quoted.

Figure 1.



We can't imagine
 @grindercoffeegerrard is alone 🙌 and we wish
 them all the success in their campaign.
 #ryanneedsgrinder.
 . #Repost @grindercoffeegerrard with
 @get_repost
 . . .
 Thanks @blogto for your support. We will get
 #ryangosling here, we swear @idriselba will
 be so jealous when Ryan tells him what an
 awesome time he had. #torontocoffee
 #ryanneedsgrinder #toronto #coffee
 #gerrardstreeteast #wecandoth
 Thanks for the support
 if you think it , he will come

Sometimes users mention the program or an application they used to repost the original text. For instance, in Figure 1 the user mentions @get_repost username that indicates a page of the application with the link to download it. So, typically it is easy to understand where the repost tool has been used. The original message is separated from the text of the author. The author puts a hashtag #repost, the username of the author of the original text and the name of the application that was used to repost the message. The original message is also separated from the author's message with three dots.

However, not all examples are clear enough. One example is vague and it is difficult to understand the status of the message, i.e. whether it is a repost:

- (3) A #repost from @iamrandythomas . It seems #ryanneedsgrinder is still a draw. Poor @idriselba he really missed his shot at being this loved. #lol #coffee #gerrardstreeteast #comejoinus grindercoffeegerrard #leslieville #coffeehouse #cafeyyz #coffeetime #handsome #famous #coffeetime #coffeeismandatory #coffeeshoplife #coffeeislife #coffeeisamust #lovethisplace

The user mentions the word *#repost*, however it is not clear, which part of the text has been reposted and which part was written by the user themselves. If we look at the screenshot (Figure 2), we will notice that this example is not a typical one, as the user indicates the repost only with a hashtag. The audience does not understand which part of the post has been reposted: there is no boundary between the reposted text and the text of the author (if any text belongs to the author).

Figure 2.



A #repost from
@iamrandythomas . It seems
#ryanneedsgrinder is still a draw. Poor
@idriselba he really missed his shot at being
this loved. #lol #coffee #gerrardstreeteast
#comejoinus
#leslieville
#coffeehouse #cafeyyz #coffeetime
#handsome #famous #coffeetime
#coffeeismandatory #coffeeshoplife
#coffeeislife #coffeeisamust #lovethisplace

Additionally, the user may have reposted the picture, not the text of the post, but the audience cannot know this without additional remarks.

One of the examples shows that the user makes a repost to share the original message with the audience without commenting on the text of this message:

- (4) #Repost @grindercoffeegerrard with @get_repost · · · Thanks @blogto for your support. We will get #ryangosling here, we swear @idriselba will be so jealous

when Ryan tells him what an awesome time he had. #torontocoffee
#ryanneedsgrinder #toronto #coffee #gerrardstreeteast #wecandohis

This post shows that the user shares the text of the post in their own timeline, but does not add any text of their own. The reason for this is probably the wish to share the original text and information with followers. Another possible reason is the wish to spread the information about the campaign, so that as many users as possible participate in it and share the hashtag.

- (5) So Ryan actually visited our hood today! Joelle your persistence paid off. Ryan next time we'll have to get you in for a cut #ryangosling #tiff #leslieville @evamendes @firstmanmovie @londonbarbershop

Repost @grindercoffeegerrard (@get_repost)

. . .

And this happened... It worked!! Our #ryanneedsgrinder actually worked. The man himself #ryangosling showed up here and had a coffee with us. What a good sport (you can only imagine what Joelle actually said). Thanks for everyones support . A big thanks at Ryan for taking the time out of #tiff to visit #leslieville. What a gracious well brought up Canadian boy. Take that @idriselba your loss!!

The user gives their emotional reaction to the post and paraphrases the same information about the result of the campaign in their own text. Additionally, the user makes their conclusions about what influenced the campaign and brought it to success (*Joelle your persistence paid off*). What is more, the author makes a playful suggestion about the next visit of the actor (which is a possible playful continuation of the campaign). These examples (4) and (5) are interesting because they are not written by the account of the café (18 posts from the material from Instagram belong to the account of the cafe). This shows that the audience is actively participating in the campaign and supports it without any profit or any commercial interest.

Example (6), below, shows a more emotional reaction to the reposted text:

- (6) Well it finally happened a little persistence with a touch of harassment and a sprinkle of begging and BAM you got yourself a celebrity meet and greet

Stoked our friends and neighbors had a visit from Mr. Gosling himself yesterday.

Folks before you come in for a cut make sure you get your java from our friends a few doors down. You just never know what celeb you might find in there!!! Although might be hard to get a hug from them..as you can see Joelle has a tight

`grip #Repost @grindercoffeegerrard (@get_repost)`

• • •

And this happened... It worked!! Our *#ryanneedsgrinder* actually worked. The man himself *#ryangosling* showed up here and had a coffee with us. What a good sport (you can only imagine what Joelle actually said). Thanks for everyones support . A big thanks at Ryan for taking the time out of *#tiff* to visit *#leslieville*. What a gracious well brought up Canadian boy. Take that *@idriselba* your loss!!

This example of reposting the message shows several reasons for doing so. First, the author saves space in their own post. As there is a reposted message after their text, it is possible to substitute the story and the result of the campaign with the pronoun *it* in the very first sentence. Second, the author reveals their own assessment of the story and the ways the owners of the café were inviting the actor (*Well it finally happened a little persistence with a touch of harassment and a sprinkle of begging and BAM you got yourself a celebrity meet and greet*). The user shows that they are critical to the methods of the campaign, even though they are participating in it. The repost makes it possible for the audience to read this emotional comment without paying attention to the reposted message. However, if the audience is not familiar with the story, there is a possibility to get acquainted with it in the reposted text as well or using the hashtag.

What is more, apart from the emotional reaction and a brief summary of the result of the campaign, the user mentions that their location is near the café's location (*Stoked our friends and neighbors had a visit from Mr. Gosling himself yesterday*). This can partially be understood as an advertisement based on the close distance and friendly relations between the café and the user's place.

Another example shows the use of the repost function to express the emotional reaction as well:

(7)

Ryan Gosling made like a good Canadian boy and went to visit @grindercoffeegerrard in Toronto on Tuesday after seeing their viral campaign! *#tiff #tiff2018 #ryangosling #toronto #yyz #toronto_insta #mytoronto #the6ix #thesix #leslieville #torontointernationalfilmfestival #canada #canadaCA #ohcanada #ohcanadaCA #Ontario*

`#Repost @grindercoffeegerrard • • •`

And this happened... It worked!! Our *#ryanneedsgrinder* actually worked. The man himself *#ryangosling* showed up here and had a coffee with us. What a good sport (you can only imagine what Joelle actually said). Thanks for everyones support . A big thanks at Ryan for taking the time out of *#tiff* to visit *#leslieville*. What a gracious well brought up Canadian boy. Take that *@idriselba* your loss!!

This example shows how possible it is to express the emotional reaction on the basis of the original reposted text. The author reposts the message about the end of the campaign and, based on it, gives their own view of the character and the situation. The assessment of the actor (*Ryan Gosling made like a good Canadian boy*) is based on the fact that he visited the place, whereas the assessment of the campaign (*after seeing their viral campaign*) is based not only on the reposted message. Probably, to understand why the user calls the campaign *viral* the unfamiliar audience has to check the use of the hashtag *#ryanneedsgrinder*. In this message, the author bases their assessment on the whole number of posts dedicated to the campaign and connected with each other by the hashtag. The assessment *viral* here means that the spread of the campaign was noticeable and that the role of social media (Instagram particularly) was meaningful for the result of the campaign.

Varis and Blommaert (2015) provide an example of Mark Zuckerberg's status update in Facebook that received thousands of likes in a couple of minutes after it has been published. Varis and Blommaert (2015: 35) mention the importance of being involved into the community that 'likes' and 'shares' texts written by other users. When a user 'likes' a post, they signal to others who also like the post. Additionally, a user signals to their friends and followers about the 'like'. So, " 'liking' is a responsive uptake to someone else's activity while 'sharing' is the initiation of another activity directed at another (segment of a) community" (Varis & Blommaert 2015: 35). Every new use of the piece of a 'shared' text is no longer connected to the original text in its context. Every new repetition ends as "an entirely new semiotic process" (Varis & Blommaert 2015: 36).

Re-entextualization refers to the process by means of which a piece of 'text' (a broadly defined semiotic object here) is extracted from its original context-of-use and re-inserted into an entirely different one, involving different participation frameworks, a different kind of textuality – an entire text can be condensed into a quote, for instance – and ultimately also very different meaning outcomes (Varis & Blommaert 2015: 36).

In terms of hashtags, this might mean that every user who adds a hashtag into their post creates their own meaning of it. For example, a barbershop nearby the café supports the campaign, adds a hashtag, and attracts attention to the campaign. However, at the same time, they create their own advertisement, they send a message to their audience:

our barbershop is close to the café, if you visit our barbershop, there is a chance that you meet a celebrity in this neighbourhood.

Example (8) shows how this user not only gives a reaction to the campaign, but also tries to motivate other users to create their own campaigns:

- (8) Don't be afraid to try an out of the box marketing idea. They not only work, but sometimes #ryangosling shows up. Love this
#Repost @grindercoffeegerrard with @get_repost
. . .
And this happened... It worked!! Our #ryanneedsgrinder actually worked. The man himself #ryangosling showed up here and had a coffee with us. What a good sport (you can only imagine what Joelle actually said). Thanks for everyones support . A big thanks at Ryan for taking the time out of #tiff to visit #leslieville. What a gracious well brought up Canadian boy. Take that @idriselba your loss!!
.
#socialmediamarketing #branding #smallbusiness #coffee #marketing #digitalmarketing #familybusiness #bigideas

Here, (8) shows how the need to share the context is combined with the need to express an emotional reaction. The main reason for using the repost function in the particular post is a/the need to give a piece of advice at the beginning and to illustrate the idea of the author by adding the context to the message. The first sentence of the message is an example of perlocutionary speech act (for example, see Searle (1969)): it works as a catalyst and aims to cause actions from the audience. Without the reposted message the user would probably have explained what they mean by trying *an out of the box marketing idea*. What is more, it would not be clear enough for the audience how the marketing idea is connected to Ryan Gosling. These two examples show the connection with the context of the campaign. The emotional reaction is expressed in the phrase *Love this* and in the inspiration for other users who are thinking about creating a campaign but are not sure about it (*Don't be afraid to try* and *They not only work, but sometimes #ryangosling shows up*).

The above examples show that there are several different reasons for adding reposts. Some of these reasons include the intention to save space and to shorten the length of the post, the intention to tell about the campaign briefly, especially for those who are not familiar with the campaign. What is more, the repost function allows users to share an emotional reaction and to combine the reaction with the original post, which is being reposted. All these reasons have common unifying motivations: the intention to

share the context of the situation and to show the original message that the user wants to comment on, answer or bring as an example of something.

6.2.Retweets and links as tools for widening the context of the posts in Twitter

The function of retweeting is slightly reminiscent of one of the functions of hashtags in social media. Since quite often hashtags act as topic markers, they “supply the reader with information regarding what is being referred to in the main text of the tweet” (Wikström 2014: 133). The retweeted text serves as a hashtag in this case. It gives the readers an opportunity to follow the dialog and to participate in it if they want to do so.

The functions of retweets and multimodal ways of narration in Twitter might differ from the functions of reposts in Instagram. The main reason for that is the differences between these social media platforms (see chapter 3). However, the data show that the main function of sharing extra content or the context of situation remains the same.

Generally the functions of retweets and links in Twitter are the following.

1. To give a general context of the situation to the audience (especially when it is impossible to put all the information in one message in Twitter);
2. To give a specific context or to show the whole dialog if the user replies to the original message;
3. To give a context when the user gives their own emotional reaction or the personal feedback to the original text (for example, if the user reacts to the event mentioned in the linked material).

When a user posts a retweet, they show that their message is addressed to the whole audience and that the audience can not only read the dialog, but also participate in it and in this way become a part of the audience design. Dynel (2017: 64) mentions several types of communication between participants that can occur in an online conversation of different types. For example, one-to-one type of interaction, where only two participants communicate. In many other types of social media other than Twitter, this type of communication can be quite common. It usually includes messages that are private and addressed to a particular user. However, when the user adds the whole history of the

dialog by retweeting, the type of communication changes from one-to-one to one-to-many (Dynel 2017), and that makes the audience able to participate.

For example, in (9) one can see that the use of retweets allows the audience not only to understand, but also to participate in the discussion:

- (9) Even the mayor is behind you having coffee with us @RyanGosling.
@TIFF_NET #leslieville #ryanneedsgrinder

@Userr:

Got my morning coffee at @GrinderCoffeeTO today and checked out their campaign to get @RyanGosling to visit during @TIFF_NET.

This example shows an attempt by the user to give a specific context and to show the whole dialog if the user replies to the original message. The hashtag in this example indicates the topic of the conversation, i.e. it acts as a topic marker (Wikström 2014: 132). The retweeted message shows the connection to the user, to the topic and to the campaign (expressed with the hashtag). The user, who adds this retweet, expresses their emotional reaction towards the event and points out that the campaign is being supported not only by the general audience in social media, but also by the representatives of the city of Toronto (*Even the mayor is behind you having coffee with us*).

Additionally, the retweeting tool allows the audience to see the author of the original retweeted message. It is important in case some of the followers would like to address that user. In this case, they can add the usual addressing sign @ and the nickname mentioned in the retweeted message. That makes the addressing in social media easier and quicker.

Another example (10) shows the possibilities to “share digital semiotic objects” (Gruber 2017: 8) with the audience and to tell more about the events of different kinds:

- (10) I feel like we should go get a cup JUST in case @RyanGosling hears their plea ;)
#RyanNeedsGrinder [https://www.blogto.com/film/2018/09/gerrard-coffee-toronto-ryan-gosling/](https://www.blogto.com/film/2018/09/gerrard-coffee-toronto-ryan-gosling/~@meredithshaw) ~@meredithshaw #TIFF18

This shows several possibilities that allow the user to reach their goals. First, the user saves space in their own tweet as the hyperlink leads to the webpage with the information about the news the user decides to share. Second, the user shares the emotional reaction

and shows the intention to participate in the campaign physically. This means that the user decides to support the campaign not only by mentioning it in social media, but also by physically visiting the place, and they let others notice it. Additionally, the user motivates the audience to follow their example and to visit the place as well. Finally, the user addresses the actor by mentioning his nickname. This changes the type of conversation of this post. From one-to-many (addressing the whole audience without marking anybody particularly) the conversation also turns into one-to-one (Dynel 2017) as the actor is mentioned in the post directly, and the post is addressed directly to him. So, in (10) it is clear that the user combines several functions of links and retweets in this social media platform. It is possible to presume that such combinations have a bigger effect on the audience.

The next example shows the possibility of combining personal evaluation of the event, a short summary of it, two types of addressivity and an emotional reaction:

- (11) A great example of what a local business can do with social media. Even if @RyanGosling hadn't visited, @GrinderCoffeeTO created a fun campaign around an event, involved patrons, and infused their brand with personality. #ryanneedsgrinder Outstanding!
<https://twitter.com/i/moments/1039646446880882688>

The user shares the link, and the main aim of it is to familiarize the audience with the campaign, event and the result of the story. The use of the link saves space for the author's own text, where they can express their attitude towards the campaign. The user chooses two types of addressivity, i.e. one-to-one and one-to-many. This involves the audience in the dialog where Ryan Gosling can possibly participate as well. The same situation can be seen in (9). The assessment of the strategy is combined together with the emotions (*a fun campaign around an event, involved patrons, and infused their brand with personality; outstanding!*).

Example (12) shows the same components, i.e. an emotional reaction and the assessment of the campaign; however, these components are mentioned in a reversed order.

- (12) Oh this is hilarious. Good Canadian boy, and great social media campaign #ryanneedsgrinder: "A campaign to get Ryan Gosling to visit a Toronto café finally won him over"
<https://twitter.com/i/moments/1039646446880882688>

In this particular case, one of the functions of the hyperlink is the same as in (10): it saves space. Another function of the hashtag in this example is to introduce the topic for those readers who are not familiar with the campaign.

To sum up, repost functions in Instagram and retweets and links in Twitter are generally similar. The main function is to introduce the topic or the event for those users who are not into the topic (when the topic is marked by the particular hashtag, for example). At the same time, the use of additional links allows the users to save space for their own text. Additionally, reposts and retweets can represent the conversation, so that the audience can follow the dialog. The followers see who is involved in the conversation and what the sequence of the remarks is. Reposts, retweets and links allow the user to comment on the original (retweeted, reposted) text and to share their personal feedback or their emotional reaction. With this tool, the social media platform transfers into a big discussion board, where users share opinions and comment on the points of view of other users.

7. Types of discourse in social media posts with the hashtag *#ryanneedsgrinder*

Mediated discourse is connected not only with news and journalists, but also with the ordinary people that use media in order to “construct social relations within their own communities of practice” (Scollon 1998: 5). The main difference between “front and back regions” (Talbot and Talbot 2007: 130) is a border between background activities and those activities that are aimed for the target audience.

In media discourse, then, the broadcast or published text is what appears in the front region. Most media workers never appear there at all, yet all collaborate in the interactive framework of production of texts designed for a distant imagined audience (Talbot & Talbot 2007: 131).

On the contrary, social media allows users to participate in their publications and not be left in the back region. This is why the language that is used in social media posts is not formal and aimed at advertising only.

The analysis of online language use sometimes shows that the utterances can be similar to the ordinary spoken text in an informal situation. Social media posts can be seen as “small stories” (Georgakopoulou 2007) because they cover such narrative actions as “tellings of ongoing events, future or hypothetical events, shared (known) events” and “allusions to (previous) tellings, deferrals of tellings and refusals to tell” (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2011: 119). This means that the ways texts can be presented depends on the aim of the author. Internet posts can create a unity, a bigger story, if the posts are connected to each other and are combined as a sequence. For example, if a user creates posts on purpose, to attract somebody’s attention or to advertise something (the whole advertisement can be split into parts – independent posts).

In some cases, social media posts combine features of an informal dialog with a more formal one, for example the way of announcing an event. This can probably happen more frequently in business profiles. These profiles have aims that differ from aims of personal accounts. Not only do they have to attract new users and ‘save’ the number of their followers, but to advertise events, places, and campaigns. The first example shows this kind of combination as well:

- (1) Today begins our 10 day campaign to get #ryangosling to have coffee with us during #tiff . Some of you may remember last year's campaign #idrisneedsgrinder and the fact that he did not show (No discounted coffee for you @idriselba .NONE!! FULL PRICE) but this year we think we picked better. We will not be defeated. So Ryan, be prepared for the onslaught of love coming your way. We look forward to seeing you soon.
As for everyone else don't forget to get your selfie taken with Grinder Ryan and hashtag #ryanneedsgrinder for a chance to win a Grinder Gift card. @blogto @tiff_net @cbc #leslieville #coffeehouse #cafeyyz #coffeetime

As we see from the post, the beginning of the text is more formal than the end of it. The reason for that can lie in the aim of the author: at the beginning, they need to introduce the event to their audience, whereas after it they need to attract attention of other users to spread the idea (and to save the existing readers). What is more, they remind their audience about the previous campaign, which did not succeed the previous year. Such a reminder in this post works as a tool to switch the style register and turn the rest of the text into an informal message. The part of the text that is written in capital letters is the peak for the audience to notice the effect of the change. Another characteristic of spoken language use is the address to Ryan Gosling. The user does not choose a traditional way of addressing in Instagram (@ sign) as they do it with Idris Elba (@idriselba user) because Ryan Gosling does not have an Instagram account and has a lot of fan accounts.

The last part of the post contains an address to all of the audience of the account: the user writes in an informal colloquial style. However, at the same time, the owner of the account promotes the campaign and gives away the gift from the café, and that is an example of how informal language use and spoken discourse changes to professional marketing discourse.

Despite of the recreational discourse that is usual in social media posts, the user adds several features of marketing as well:

- (2) Day 2 of our #ryanneedsgrinder campaign. #ryangosling just about anyone can do a "hey girl" meme we wanted to go a different (yet equally shameless) route to convince you to come visit. We are pulling the #canadian card. You're from Canada, we are in Canada. All that time in the states must make you miss maple syrup, lumberjacks, free health care and good conversation peppered with ehs. We can provide it all , so drop by grab yourself a muffin and a coffee (at a 15% discount we may add, @idriselba only got offered 10%) and enjoy our Canadian hospitality #buylocal #buycanadian #ryangoslinglove #leslieville #tiff2018 @blogto @cbctor onto

As in the previous example, the user begins their post with the announcement of the campaign, which can be understood as one of the marketing elements. When the user addresses the actor (the hashtag *#ryangosling* marks such addressivity in the post), they make a suggestion that there are several things that the actor might miss when not in Canada. At the same time, the user invites the actor and offers some of these things. What is more, the user chooses another marketing feature and offers a discount if the actor comes to the café (*at a 15% discount we may add*). By contrast, the user compares the discount they offer for Ryan Gosling with the discount they offered to Idris Elba when they invited him a year before. As the rule of advertisement works here, the actor is supposed to get a bigger discount than Idris Elba was supposed to get (*@idriselba only got offered 10%*). However, marketing discourse is used mainly for the actor. The rest of the audience become *overhearers* (Dynel 2017: 67; Goffman 1981: 9) and look at this post from the perspective of recreation. This example shows how two types of discourse are combined and how these two types are distinguished between the types of target audience of the post (the actor Ryan Gosling on the one hand and the rest of the followers of this account on the other hand).

- (3) Day 3 of our *#ryanneedsgrinder* campaign. We understand *#ryangosling* that you are in town for *#tiff2018* to promote your new film *#firstman*. We also understand that there is a wee bit of controversy surrounding it. Want talk about it? Chat over coffee? Maybe invite *#clairefoy* for a *#coffeetalk*, we love her too. Joelle is a very good listener. *#coffeeshoplife* *#tiff* *#coffeetalk*

Professional discourse in (3) is expressed with the help of a sequence of questions that resemble a conversation with the actor. An element of persuasion is added at the end of the message as well, when the user points out the strong part of the café owner (*Joelle is a very good listener*). When a user describes themselves in their own blog or in their account, it allows them to create a positive point of view: “being an author offers you tremendous credibility in your targeted audience. Also, being an author is easier than it ever has been, thanks to self-publishing” (Lakhani 2008: 125). The beginning of the message seems to act as an advertisement and an entertainment for the audience at the same time. The user emphasizes the day of the campaign, and the first sentence of the post acts as a topic marker. Those users who are not familiar with such a sequence of the posts can easily follow the hashtag (therefore its place is at the beginning) and can be in the loop.

Speaking about Instagram posts written by the account of the café, I have to mention that the majority of them are written in a similar way. First, the post indicates the day of the

campaign as it is mentioned in (3) (*Day 3 of our #ryanneedsgrinder campaign*). This is a part of professional discourse because it indicates that the campaign is going on. After the day of the campaign has been announced, it is followed by the part with the advertisement (direct advertisement of the café, directions how to get to the café, the information about the film festival). This can be understood as a part of the café's marketing and as a part of recreational activities as well: the audience that reads these messages can either visit the café (and use the information from the post directly for their visit), or just "overhear" and follow the campaign for fun. After the part with practical information and advertising, stylistics of the post changes and it becomes not only the advertisement and an invitation for the actor, but also an entertainment for the audience.

Those users who create posts with the same hashtag *#ryanneedsgrinder* can combine the two types of discourse as well or choose one which they find the more appropriate for their target audience. For example:

- (4) We can't imagine @grindercoffeegerrard is alone and we wish them all the success in their campaign. *#ryanneedsgrinder*.
 . #Repost @grindercoffeegerrard with @get_repost
 . . .
 Thanks @blogto for your support. We will get #ryangosling here, we swear @idri selba will be so jealous when Ryan tells him what an awesome time he had.
#torontocoffee #ryanneedsgrinder #toronto #coffee #gerrardstreeteast #wecandoth is

Example (4) shows how other users support the café's account with reposting their original message. The repost acts as an embodiment of the professional discourse (the user shares the message about the campaign, the name of the café's account and the name of the actor). At the same time, in the text at the beginning the user expresses the attitude towards the event. This can be a part of the professional discourse as well, however, this can presumably be a part of their recreational activities too.

Some other examples show that the same type of combinations of discourse types can be used after the end of the campaign as well:

- (5) @grindercoffeegerrard owner Joelle Murray spent a week trying to entice First Man actor Ryan Gosling to visit her café during #TIFF.
 So, the Toronto coffee shop owner was overjoyed when her campaign *#ryanneedsgrinder* worked, and the London, Ontario, native made a surprise visit.

“He made it seem that he enjoyed meeting me as much as I enjoyed meeting him,” she says, calling him a wonderful Canadian boy with good manners. (GrinderCoffeeTO) #ryangosling #tiff2018 #firstman #Toronto

From the example it is possible to see that the campaign had already finished (*So, the Toronto coffee shop owner was overjoyed when her campaign #ryanneedsgrinder worked, and the London, Ontario, native made a surprise visit*) by the time the post was written. There would be no need to advertise the campaign because any advertisements would not have any effect. However, the advertisement part can be dedicated to the hashtag. Since it is impossible to tell about the whole campaign and the event in the post, the user can briefly mention the main moments and share various hashtags that are connected to the campaign. Those users (from the followers of the account, for example) who are interested in the event, can check the details afterwards. At the same time, this entertains the audience: the user adds a quote by the owner of the café, which shows the reaction about the event from the participant.

Another example was written after the end of the campaign as well:

- (6) Hey girl, how do you take your coffee? #RyanGosling made a surprise visit to @grindercoffeegerrard—after their 10 day social media campaign during #TIFF Tap the link in our bio for the full story. #RyanNeedsGrinder

Example (6) shows a combination of discourse types as well, despite the fact that the campaign had finished before the text was created. The first part of the message belongs to the part of recreation: the author mentions the campaign, the result of the campaign and the name of the café’s account. This can probably entertain the audience and at the same time increase the audience’s interest towards the event. The second discourse type continues the chain of sentences about the event. The marketing here is direct, created according to the model “go and do” (*Tap the link in our bio for the full story*). The one particular phrase that can become a motivation for the audience is *the full story*. Interestingly, despite the fact that the author mentions some important information about the event, they do not necessarily advertise the campaign itself. Probably, the user is advertising their own blog (or another platform) where they share the story of the campaign and its results. As there is no need to promote the campaign anymore, there is still a chance to promote their own blog with the help of the popular actor and the event in the café.

Examples from Twitter show discourse combinations as well. However, there are examples where only one type of discourse is used.

Example (7) shows the combinations of both recreation and advertising:

- (7) No ok wait a minute ... more important than tiff ... let's breath ... He Actually did it ... did u hear about this campaign *#ryanneedsgrinder* ... No? Go check the account below Our Man is the best No Doubt ... so happy for @GrinderCoffeeTO #ryangosling

The advertisement part (that makes the professional discourse) is expressed in two phrases (*did u hear about this campaign #ryanneedsgrinder* and *go check the account below*). The first phrase asks the readers directly, whether they are familiar with the campaign or not. The user adds the hashtag, so everyone who is interested can follow it and check the information. Another phrase gives an indirect link to another account where the audience can also read more about the event. These parts of the message aim to fulfil the shortage of information.

The rest of the post aims to share the personal attitude to the campaign and the emotional reaction of the user. For example the evaluation of the actor who visited the café (*Our Man is the best No Doubt*) or the author's happiness shared with the owners of the café and the rest of the audience (*so happy for @GrinderCoffeeTO*).

Another example shows how users share thoughts on marketing development of the café:

- (8) With @RyanGosling stopping by, .@blogTO will need to update this page :) "Gerrard is now the place to be on Toronto's east side" via @_tanyamok *#ryanneedsgrinder*

Additionally, the user shares a link to the one of the blogs (<https://www.blogto.com/city/2018/09/gerrard-east-leslieville-toronto/>). The suggestion about updating the page seems to be another marketing idea. However, when an ordinary user suggests how to improve the advertising and writes it as a publicly available post, some element of recreation appears as well. The hashtag supports this idea, because it sends the audience who are unfamiliar with the event to the topic. The emoticon makes the post look like more informal and casual. If the post was dedicated only to the marketing part, there would be no need to insert any emoji.

Example (9) shows how the user can briefly analyse the impact of social media on business:

- (9) A great example of what a local business can do with social media. Even if @RyanGosling hadn't visited, @GrinderCoffeeTO created a fun campaign around an event, involved patrons, and infused their brand with personality. #ryanneedsgrinder Outstanding!
<https://twitter.com/i/moments/1039646446880882688>

This message contains the part dedicated to advertising, however, it is not direct and explicit. First, the phrase *a fun campaign around an event* creates an intrigue for those who are not familiar with the event. This will probably make some part of the audience come and check what event is the user talking about (the link in the post can help to do so). Second, the hashtag can act as an advertisement as well because it indicated the name of the campaign. The rest of the text is a shared opinion of the author about the impact of social media on business. The evaluation of the café and the steps they used during the campaign is positive (*and infused their brand with personality; outstanding*). Other potential customers of the café might feel a will to visit it as well as the actor and probably the author of this post. Additionally, for the rest of the audience it seems to be entertaining to read such reviews on the actions of the café during the campaign.

8. Conclusion

This study is dedicated to the research of the hashtag *#ryanneedsgrinder* in social media posts. Two social media platforms were chosen for the analysis – Twitter and Instagram. The sphere of social media and the language used on such platforms have attracted attention, and this is completely understandable. First, the language has its specific characteristics and may differ from the everyday language (it may combine styles, genres and discourse types according to the aim of the speaker). Second, social media allows using additional tools that influence the perception and understanding of the text (such as hyperlinks, hashtags and addressing signs). Finally, it is possible to add multimedia content to the text and receive a completely new understanding of it.

Apart from communication purposes, social media serve some other functions as well. For example, nowadays social media often becomes a platform for the spread of marketing and advertising. This affects the language that is used on such platforms and the presentation of the material.

This study has aimed to analyse one of the popular tools of various social media platforms – one of the hashtags, the texts it is used in and the ways it affects our understanding of the purpose of these texts (are they written by ordinary users to create fun or are they used to promote the event and the campaign). The hashtag chosen for the analysis is *#ryanneedsgrinder*. The choice can be explained by the special features of this hashtag: initially it was created by the café to promote one marketing campaign but then the hashtag started to appear in different texts. What is more interesting, users continued sharing the hashtag after the campaign had already finished.

The aims of this research were to investigate the pragmatics of the use of the hashtag in social media and the position of the hashtags in posts. Apart from that, the aim was to analyse the connection of the hashtag to the additional elements such as addressing signs and to see how different types of discourse are combined together if they are.

The interest of this research lies in three fields: the functions that this hashtag serves, its connection to the text that surrounds the hashtag (and the reposted texts as well) and the role of the hashtag in the creation of the ‘prosumer’ discourse type.

Two social media platforms were chosen for the analysis, and this helped to notice the similarities in the use of the hashtag. According to the material, the hashtag is used

both in the text (incorporated into it) and as a frame. The hashtag is used in reposted and retweeted messages as well. In these cases, the main functions of a reposted message included into the post are dictated either by the limit of the context (the context generally or the context of the publicly available dialog, when one user answers to another user) or by a will to share the emotional reaction to the original post. Hyperlinks can be added to the posts in Twitter to add extra context as well. In this case, it can be explained by the specifics of the social media platform, where the number of characters in one post is limited. The hashtag sometimes substitutes such words as *campaign* and *hashtag*, which also saves space in the post in case it is crucial.

The combination of discourse types appears in many posts that contain the hashtag *#ryanneedsgrinder*. The main reason is that when users add the hashtag to their posts, they already include the part of the marketing campaign into their posts. Additionally, if users write their posts during the campaign, they typically refer to it and advertise at least for their audience (their followers, for example). In case the user understands that their audience may not be familiar with the hashtag or the campaign, they can say about the ways to check the information. Such “directions” can be seen as promotion and advertising as well.

Some users continued using the hashtag after the campaign had already been finished. However, in this case they can advertise not only the hashtag, but also their own personal blogs and pages. For example, if there is some information and details of the campaign in their blogs, they can “direct” their Instagram or Twitter audience to that personal page. This means that such users start promoting the hashtag, the campaign and their personal space in the Internet.

It is interesting that several changes to the hashtag were found among the material. For example, one of the users changed the hashtag *#ryanneedsgrinder* to *#ryanneedsme*. Such a syntactic structure can become popular and turn into something bigger than the ordinary hashtag. For example, if users continue changing the hashtag and probably start using it in combinations with other visual content, such hashtags can potentially become memes.

This study can be developed into a further research of the use of hashtags and the language on social media platforms. Further research about the combinations of discourse types can be conducted on the material from social media as well. Not only Twitter and Instagram are popular nowadays, but other platforms as well, so new platforms can bring

new features of Internet language use to an ordinary communication and in attempts to promote marketing among business profiles and profiles of ordinary users.

Finally, social media has become a significant part of ordinary life. It is used for communication, entertaining, marketing purposes and many other as well. The particular example of the use of the hashtag is a good example of computer-mediated communication. It is an example of how one hashtag that is used during the marketing campaign can spread among other posts and be used in various texts with various purposes.

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